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BOOK REVIEWS.

THE EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA. By John H. Latané, A. B., Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, March and April, 1895.

"The Founders of Maryland," by the Rev. E. D. Neill, of St. Paul, Minnesota, was published in 1876; his "Terra Mariae," in——; his "Virginia Vetusta," in 1885, his "Virginia Carolorum," in 1886; and his "Virginia Company of London," in 1889.

The influence of the above books is very perceptible in, "A Puritan Colony in Maryland," by Daniell R. Randall, from the Johns Hopkins Press, June 1886; "The struggle of Protestant Dissenters for Religious Toleration in Virginia," by Henry R. McIlwaine, Ph. D., from the same press, April, 1894; and by, "The Early Relations between Maryland and Virginia," in 1895.

The monograph of Mr. McIlwaine, deals with a phase of Virginia history much later than that discussed by Mr. Randall, and Mr. Latané, and I shall not say one word about it. I shall confine myself to, "The Early Relations between Maryland and Virginia," and shall not go beyond the period of 1655. And because of the lack of space, I shall confine myself to the second division of Mr. Latané's book, "the religious matters," and shall neglect his first, "the political relations," and his third, "The Puritan Supremacy in Virginia and Maryland;" first, because of the lack of space, and secondly, because I think it will be sufficiently demonstrated, that the Puritan Supremacy in Virginia was very brief, and very insignificant. If Virginia historians, and Southern writers, had drawn their inspiration from Jamestown, and not from Plymouth Rock, that "Supremacy," would long since have been regarded as very meagre and inglorious; but a strange predjudice against Colonial Virginia—which is Episcopal Virginia—has driven them to sympathetic sources; and they have accepted the statements of wild fanatics, as the truths of history, without stopping to see that they had an object in exalting themselves, and in depreciating us.

There is no more industrious historian in this line, that I know of, than the Rev. E. D. Neil.

In that magnificent address of William Wirt Henry before the Virginia Historical Society, February 24th, 1882, in which he upholds the honor of grand old John Smith, the hero of Virginia, from the fierce assaults of Dean, Adams, Neil and others. Mr. Neil is characterised as "unworthy of confidence as a historian;" and in the first volume of this Magazine he is described "as having a spirit which finds a malig-

nant pleasure in looking only for faults and blots," and as "a historical scavenger" (page 341). And when I read in *The Virginia Company*, of London, that the wife of Governor Yeardley "was supposed to have sympathies with the Puritan Party," because her Christian name was Temperance (page 142); that the first settlers in old Warrosqueyacke "were Puritans, and they may have built the Smithfield Church" (page 194) (the old brick church), "still standing;" and when I read in his *Virginia Vetusta* of Alexander Whitaker, "he discarded the surplice and wrote to England, &c." (page 164), and in a thousand other places similar statements, I could but laugh at the arts of the reverend gentleman, who consciously, or unconsciously, would, under the garb of the *suggestio falsi*, seek to create an impression that he knew was erroneous, and was at variance with the plain and manifest facts.

Mr. Latané thinks "that there were some Puritans at Henrico in 1611" with Sir Thomas Dale, because some of the palisades and forts are called Hope in Faith, Coxendale, Charitie Fort, Mount Malado ("a guest house"), Elizabeth Fort, and Fort Patience, because Mr. Whitaker wrote a certain letter to a certain "Cosen," and that there were Puritans enough in Warrosquoyacke (now Isle of Wight) and in Upper Norfolk (now Nansemond) "to have considerable influence upon the future history of both Virginia and Maryland" (page 34).

I do not concur in this view of the matter, and propose to indicate very briefly some reasons for dissenting from Mr. Latané's conclusions.

1. *The Puritans at Henrico in 1611.*—There is no man connected with English history that had more effect upon English colonization than the Rev. Richard Hackluyt, Prebendary of Westminster. From the moment that he visited the chambers of his cousin, Mr. Richard Hackluyt, "a gentleman of the Middle Temple," and saw before him "bookes of cosmographie" and "an universal mappe," and had the Bible brought to him, and read the 107 psalm, "that they which go downe to the sea in ships and occupy the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe" (*Anderson's History of the Colonial Church*, page 156,), &c.; he was an enthusiastic colonizationist, who believed thoroughly in planting the church and state of England in every quarter of the globe.

The charter that was, in 1606, granted to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluyt and Edward Maria Wingfield, was the charter of the church, and state of England; and the first minister carried by the first colonists, was the Rev. Robert Hunt, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the special instance and request of Edward Maria Wingfield, and the Rev. Richard Hackluyt.

That much is certain.

The colony did not flourish. The jealousies and animosities of Wingfield, Archer, Ratcliff and Martin, chilled the life of the colony, and created dissensions at Jamestown and in London.

The remedy for these evils was supposed to be a new charter.

That new charter was granted, May 23rd, 1609.

Among the incorporators, was Abbot, Archbishop of all England; Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Mountain, Bishop of Lincoln; Parry, Bishop of Worcester; Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter; Hackluyt, Prebendary of Westminster; Sandys the pupil of Hooker, John Ferrar, Nicholas Ferrar, and many others prominent in the Church of England.

The press, and the pulpit, teemed and resounded with noble appeals in behalf of the infant colony. Nova Britannia, (*Brown's Genesis*, p. 260,) (February 1609) and Good Speed, (*Forces Tracts*, Vol. 1) (April 25th, 1609), the sermons of Dr. Symonds, (*Brown's Genesis*, page 293), (April 25th, 1609), at the White Chapel, and of Dr. Price at Paul Cross, (May 28th, 1609), (*Id.* 283), still survive to show the talent, the energy, and the heroic efforts of the London Company.

As a result of the efforts, Sir Thomas Gates, "as sole and absolute Governor," (*Brown's Genesis*, page 345), with Sir George Summers, Admiral, and Captain Newport, Vice Admiral of Virginia, and divers other persons of rancke and quality," in seven ships, and two pinnaces, left Falmouth on the eight of June 1609, and on the 24th day of July, 1609, they encountered a terrible storm that prevailed from, "Tuesday noone till Friday noone;" (*Force's Tracts* Vol. 3, True Declaration), "that scattered the fleet and wrecked The Sea Venture (on July 28th, 1609), upon the island of Bermuda. On the Sea Venture with Gates, Somers and Newport was the Rev. Richard Buck, a graduate of Oxford, recommended by the Council to the Bishop of London, "as a faithful and zealous minister of the church of Christ," (*Anderson's Colonial Church*, page 201) who remained with them on the Island, until May 10th, 1610. The other vessels of the fleet, separated by the storm, reached Jamestown on various days in August 1609, and they brought with them Smith's bitterest enemies, Ratcliffe, Martin and Archer. (*Smith's Works*, page 161.)

Some of these ships sailed for England, on their return voyage, October 4th, 1609 (*Id.* 170), and carried with them the life and stay of the Colony—Captain John Smith,—who was "blown up with gunpowder, September, 1609, which tore his flesh from his body and thighs, 9 or 10 inches square, in a most pitiful manner." (*Id.* 165.)

With Gates, Summers and Newport lost, perhaps, in the terrible storm, with Smith, wounded, upon the sea; with Archer, Ratcliffe and Martin upon the land, the London Company had reached its darkest hour.

Again the press teemed with appeals in behalf of the distressed Colony, and again the church came, manfully, to its aid.

Lord Delaware was besought and consented to become "the Lord Governor, and Captain-General of Virginia."

The sermon that was preached by William Crashaw before "Lord

Delaware, the Council and the London Company" on the 21st of February, 1609 (*Brown's Gen.*, p. 283-370 and 371), reflected the spirit of all sermons, charters, instructions and appeals delivered before or issued by the Company.

"The most noble Lord, whom God hath stirred up to neglect the pleasures of England, and with Abraham to goe from thy country, and forsake thy kindred, and thy father's house," was enjoined "to suffer no papists; let them not nestle there," "to take heed of Atheism, and the Devils champions;" "to suffer no Brownists, nor factious Separatists; let them keep their conventicles elsewhere; let them go and convert some other Heathen, and let us see if they can constitute such churches really, the Idaes where of they have fancied in their brains; and when they have given us such example, we may, then, have cause to follow them. Till then, we will take our pattern from their betters."

Gates left Bermuda on the 10th of May, 1610, and reached Virginia on the 23d of the same month.

"The first place which Gates visited, upon landing, was the ruined and unfrequented church," where they had services under the faithful administration of the Rev. Mr. Buck. (*Anderson's Co. Ch.*, page 211.)

"Gates, Summers, Newport and the gentlemen and Council of the former Government" decided to abandon Jamestown. (*A True Dec., Force's Tracts*, Vol. 3.)

They went on board the 7th of June, and the next morning they were at Mulberry Island, where they met the "long Boate of Lord Delaware." They returned to Jamestown.

On Sunday, the 10th of June, "his Lordship came with all his fleet went ashore in the afternoon," "fell down upon his knees and in the presence of all the people made a long and silent prayer, heard a sermon, read his commission, and entered into a consultation for the good of the Colony." (*Anderson*, 215; *A True Dec'l*, 3 *Force*.)

The Rev. Richard Buck officiated in the service. Lord Delaware's health failed him, and he, on the 28th of March, 1611, with Dr. Bohun and Captain Argall, left for the island of Nevis, in the West Indies. (*Virginia Vetusta*, page 76; *Brown's Genesis*, page 479.)

He left "Captain George Pearcie" Deputy Governor "until the coming of the Marshall, Sir Thomas Dale," and was in England June 22, 1611.

Sir Thomas Dale, knighted by King James on June 19, 1606, was "sometime servant to Prince Henry our sonne deceased, having a company in the low countreyes was by him commanded to attend the plantation in Virginia." (*Brown's Genesis*, page 869.)

He left England March 7, 1611, and brought along with him the "Laws, Divine, Morall and Martiall" established by Gates, approved by Lord Delaware, enlarged by Dale with the knowledge and approval of Sir Thomas Smith (*Force's Tracts*, Vol. 3); and he brought also with

him the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, who endorsed the manner of their execution.

Dale arrived at Old Point on the 12th of March, 1611 (*Brown's Genesis*, pages 489-91); at Jamestown on the 19th; "and being Sunday in the afternoon where I landed, and first repairing to the Church, Mr. Poole gave us a sermon."

On the 21st of June, 1611, according to his instructions to search "for a convenient new seat to rayse a principal Towne, the counsell being present, we determined with God's grace (after the cornes setting at the Prince's Forts) (*Id.*, 492), to go up unto the Falls ward to search and advise upon a seate for a new Towne with 200 men, where we will set downe and build houses as fast as we may, resolving to leave at Jamestown, some good fifty men with a sufficient commander for the preservation of our borders." (*Id.*, 494.)

On August 17th, 1611, he wrote to Salisbury "that he had surveyed a convenient, strong, healthie, sweete seat to plant a new towne in (according as I had my instructions upon my departure), there to build from whence might be no more remove of the Principal Seate."

Robert Johnson, "Alderman Johnson," in *The New Life of Virginia* in 1612, describes the place. And the next we hear of it is the larger and the fuller narrative of Ralph Hamor, written on the 18th of June, 1614, published in London in October of that year; republished by John Smith in 1624 (*Smith's History of Virginia*, page 22), giving the names and location of the forts, the hospital, and of Rock Hall, the parsonage of Whitaker. Is it probable that in this new town—the principal seat of government—built by Dale, by the direction of the London Company, under the martial laws, regulating the affairs of church and state, described by Johnson, Hamor and Smith, that there could have been so much as even one Puritan there. But Mr. Latané seems to think that there must be some Puritans there, not only because the forts bear the names of Charitie Fort, Mount Malado, Elizabeth Fort, and Fort Patience, but because Mr. Whitaker "complaineth, and much museth, that so few of our English ministers that were so hot against the surplice and subscription come hither, where neither is spoken of. Doe they not wilfully hide their talents, or keep themselves at home, for fear of losing a few pleasures; be there not any among them of Moses, his minde, and of the Apostles, that they forsooke all to follow Christ; but I refer them to the Judge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward every one according to his talent." (*Smith's History of Virginia*, page 22.)

This was written on the 18th of June, 1614, to "my verie deere, and loving cosen, M. G., Minister of Black Friars in London," and published in part by John Smith in 1624.

It is difficult to conceive how these words could possibly have been misconstrued. Master Gonge, to whom they were addressed, under-

stood them perfectly, 'so did John Smith,' so did Purchas, and Anderson, who gave them verbatim. It is plain from their very face that this great minister of the Church of England, whom Ferrar (*Wilberforce's American Church*, page 27,) called "the Apostle of Virginia," "a graduate of Cambridge, seated in the North Country, where he was well approved by the gratest, and beloved by his people, a scholar, a graduate, a preacher well borne and friended in England, who, without any persuasion (but God's and his own heart), did voluntarily leave his warm nest, and to the wonder of his kindred and the amazement of them that knew him, undertook this hard, but in my judgment heroical resolution, to go to Virginia and help to bear the name of God to the Gentiles" (*Anderson*, page 232; *Brown's Genesis*, page 616), standing at Henrico, and beholding the religious needs of the colonists and of the Indians, by whom he was surrounded, looked with amazement and contempt at those, who for a surplice were alienating friends, separating families, and disrupting an empire.

The very same man who wrote these words to his "cosen" in 1613 (*Id.*, page 579), wrote the "Good News" from Virginia, which, with the Epistle Dedicatorie, by Crashaw, is one of the most interesting of the early papers relating to Virginia. Crashaw understood him thoroughly; so did John Smith, who did not have any special love for "those Brownists of England, Amsterdam, and Leyden (who) went to Plymouth, whose humorous ignorances caused them, for more than a year (1620-1621), to endure a wonderful deale of misery with infinite patience." (*Smith's Works*, page 926.) * * * "those discontented Brownists, Anabaptists, Papists, Puratans, Separatists, and such factions Humorists" * * * who "could not endure the name of a Bishop, others not the sight of a Crosse, nor Surplesse, others by no means the book of Common Prayer. This absolute crue, only of the elect, holding all (but such as themselves) reprobates and cast-awaies, now make more haste to return to Babel, as they termed England, than stay and enjoy the land they called Canaan: Somewhat they must say to excuse themselves." (*Id.*, page 954.)

The London Company understood his churchmanship, for on the 12th of March, 1611, when the 3rd charter was granted, the very first name in that charter was, George (Abbot) Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and in quick succession came William (James), Lord Bishop of Duresme, Henry (Parry) Lord Bishop of Worcester, John Bridger Lord Bishop of Oxenford, George Mountaine, Dean of Westminster, "Richard Buck, John Proctor, Alexander Whitaker, Thomas ffreake, Henry ffreake ministers of God's word," thus establishing the churchmanship of Whitaker, as clearly as that of George Abbot, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. (*Brown's Genesis*, page 547.)

The Laws Devine, the execution of which was entrusted to Whitaker establish the same thing.

They require "every man and woman twice a day, on the towling of the Bell," to repair to the church, and the prayers were to be, "according to the orders of the church." All the preachers, "were to preach in the forenoon, and catechise in the afternoon, and weekly say the devine service twice every day, and preach every Wednesday, and keep the Church handsome." (*Force's Tracts*, Vol. 3.)

The Captain of the guard was morning and evening to say a prayer, supposed to have been composed by Crashaw, which called for a blessing on, "the whole church," and, "for faithful and fruitful ministers."

The Minister under that Deputy Governor must have been a devout minister of the Church of England.

But let Mr. Whitaker speak for himself.

On the 9th of August, 1611, he wrote to his staunch and admiring friend, Crashaw: "If there be any young, Godly and learned ministers whom the Church of England hath not, or refuseth to set to work, send them thither. Our harvest is froward, and great, for the want of such. Young men are fittest for this country, *and we have no need either of ceremonies or bad livers.* Discretion and learning, zeal with knowledge would do much good." (*Brown's Gen.*, 499.)

The "Good News" closes with a noble and enthusiastic appeal to "you, my brethren, my fellow laborers, send up your earnest prayers to God for his Church in Virginia, that since his harvest here is great, but the laborers few, he would thrust forth laborers into his harvest, and pray also for me that the Ministrations of his Gospel may be powerful and effectual by me to the Salvation of many and advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be all honor and glory for evermore. Amen." (*Id.* 588.)

It seems (to me) to be very clear, that if any body can believe that Alexander Whitaker was of Puritan sympathies, and that there were "some Puritans at Henrico" under him and Dale, "the wish," for some strange reason, "must be father to the thought."

R. S. THOMAS.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)